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CONSPIRACY AGAINST SPAIN

Blockade Maneuvers

The blockade of Spanish land and sea frontiers went into effect on or about March 20.

One of the funniest things about this blockade is that it has been decided upon by an international group sitting in London and calling itself a Committee for Non-Intervention. What can be more of an intervention in the internal affairs of Spain than the military and naval patrols which the twenty-seven powers sitting in the London Committee have lined all along the frontiers and sea coasts of Spain?

But this is not by any means the only oddity about this so-called non-intervention in Spain. For instance, while the patrols along the franco-spanish frontier—to prevent arms and volunteers from reaching the beligerents—commenced on February 21st, the land patrols along the Portuguese frontier of Spain and the naval blockade of its coasts did not commence until more than a month later. Since most of the foreign help received by the loyalists was bound to pass through the franco-spanish border, while most of the foreign help received by the rebels was sent by way of the sea or through Portugal, it is evident that this difference of one month worked to the benefit of the rebels and to the disadvantage of the loyalists.

Furthermore, frequent news has come from southern France of scores of foreigners being arrested and sentenced to prison terms for attempting to cross the loyalist section of the Spanish border, but not a single instance has been related by the daily newspapers of men being arrested on the rebel section of the franco-spanish border, or along the Portuguese frontier of Spain, and duly sentenced to prison for trying to reach the fascist armies.

Again: No instance has been recorded of foreign volunteers having succeeded in violating the blockade. But two instances at least have been recorded—by Timesman G. L. Steer—of two German aviators having successfully entered rebel Spain since the beginnings of the blockade: Aviators Hans Sobolka, downed in Bilbao on April 12th, was in Berlin on April 2nd, in Italy on April 6th; aviator Joachim Wandel left Berlin on April 22nd by way of Rome, took part in the destruction of Guernica on April 26th and was later downed by loyalists in the Bilbao area.

All of this proves beyond a doubt that there is a great deal of intervention in Spanish affairs on the part of the Powers which make up the London so-called Non-Intervention Committee and that such intervention is visibly designed and undoubtedly operates to the advantage of the rebel faction, to the disadvantage of the loyalists.

To this very conclusion one is bound to arrive by following an altogether different line—the piracy line. Up to May 1st the rebel navy had seized on the high seas and appropriated the cargoes of no less than 57 ships belonging to the neutral Scandinavian countries. None of these ships carried war materials. Nevertheless, their cargoes were appropriated by the rebels and delivered to Germany or Italy in part payment of the arms and munitions these countries have sold and continue to sell to General Franco. The neutral shippers who are robbed of their goods by this modern piracy have protested to the London Committee. But to no avail. Germany and Italy are in favor of the piracy because they profit by it. England and France claim they lack the means of protecting neutral trade on the high seas against Gen. Franco's pirates. British indifference to such piracy has gone so far as to refuse protection to its own ships endeavoring to carry much needed foodstuff to Bilbao despite the private blockade proclaimed by Franco on that seaport. Since no one can possibly believe that Britannia, for centuries "ruler of the waves" and owner of the mightiest fleet that ever was afloat, was really frightened into inertia by Franco's lilliputian navy; one must perforce assume that its newest sea-trade policy is dictated neither by indifference nor by neutrality, but by a very active and very conscious determination to further the rebel cause.

Non-Intervention?

All this hardly needs to be argued again. No Power in the world can afford to be neutral towards Spain—and no one is neutral.

The things for which the Spanish people are fighting bear a heavy weight upon the very foundations of the social order prevailing in the world. On the results of their fight depends the future of the capitalistic regime in Spain. Should the Spanish people win by an overwhelming victory, not only the capitalistic regime would be liquidated in Spain, but the State itself would



be subjected to a complete transformation under strong pressure of libertarian forces. And from the successes of their experiments in the economic as well as in the political field the other peoples of Europe, of America, of the whole world would certainly derive encouragement to pursue in their aims toward Social Revolution.

Hence, the very logical effort of the capitalistic and authoritarian world to prevent, by all means—fair or foul—such a decisive victory of the Spanish people. It would be a bad example for the disinherited classes of all nations. Therefore, all Powers—and behind all political powers are all the forces of capitalism—have fundamentally agreed that such an example must not materialize.

To call the London gathering from 27 interested nations a "Non-Intervention" Committee is a misnomer. In reality it is an Intervention Committee. It has openly and frequently intervened in the Spanish civil war by refusing arms and ammunitions to the Republican Government, by declaring a blockade and by other means. It has also intervened secretly by letting fascist and nazi troops and war materials pour into rebel Spain. All it has tried to do has been to organize intervention in such a way that while it attained the general aim in which all are interested, i. e.: to prevent the Spanish people from obtaining a decisive victory, following which they would almost certainly liquidate the economic and political institutions of the bourgeois social order—it would refrain any single nation from unduly taking advantage of the situation to the detriment of other interested nations.

In other words, all Governments—not excluding the Russian—are in agreement that foreign intervention in Spanish affairs is justified in order to stop the Spanish people on the road to Social Revolution. What they disagree on is who shall be the gaining third party over the two litigant factions.

Only a few weeks ago, Mr. Eden announced the Spanish policy of the British Government. He said that no decisive victory was to be expected by either side. The war might still carry on, but in the long end it was bound to be settled by compromise. European diplomacy is now working on this premise and apparently towards this end.

Neutrality and non-intervention being only empty formulas, the British and European policies towards Spain are not without import. Such policies are not necessarily the decisive element in the Spanish situation. As a matter of fact, they have been revised in the past. It will be remembered that up to the Brihuega disaster of the fascist armies, British and European diplomacy were discounting Fascist victory. The valour and fortitude with which the Spaniards defended Madrid by repulsing every successive attack from all directions compelled the Powers to renounce their dream of a fascist victory.

Nevertheless, European Intervention in Spain is the principal cause of the prolongation of the war. Without Italian and German help General Franco's mercenaries would certainly have been crushed since last summer. English and European diplomacy either consented to or abetted such help as was given by the fascist powers to Franco's rebels. Since the fall of Malaga—coming after the failure of the fascists to seize Madrid—Anarchist and Anarco-syndicalist organs in Spain have repeatedly charged that Malaga was betrayed into the hands of the fascists because England so wanted. Very recently Lieutenant Colonel Ortega, defender of Irun, declared in an interview with a French paper that Irun was forced to surrender to General Mola's fascists last September because the French Government had refused to deliver a trainload of arms, ammunitions and cannon which had been sent to the defenders of Irun by the Catalan Government by way of France. Even now the British Government is showing its desire to see the fascists conquer Bilbao—presumably to counterbalance the recent loyalists' victories at Brihuega and on the Cordoba front—to such an extent that it gave orders to its shippers to abstain from carrying victuals to the Basque civilian population.

"Frente Popular"

All of this goes to show how effectively English and European intervention operates in Spain.

Of course it is easy to understand how the powers whose particular interests England is endeavoring to conciliate can determine the victories of the Spanish fascists by increasing their shipments of war materials and man-power. But it is not so easy to understand how, for instance, it has been possible to deliver Malaga to the fascists without taking into consideration another factor: The Republican Government of Spain.

Politically this Government is manned by the Frente Popular parties which won the February 16th, 1936 elections. Last November when the Republican Government was forced to fly to Valencia four Anarcho-syndicalists were seated in the Cabinet. But they never had any decisive power in the Government.

Therefore, the really important members of the Spanish Republican Government have always been men belonging to the same political parties, and to the same social classes to which belong the rulers of the French Popular Front Government, the Russian Bolshevik Government, the British Conservative Government. In other words, they were men as much attached to the bourgeois and to the authoritarian regime as their colleagues ruling in the countries adhering to the London Committee. They feared and they fear the Social Revolution, for which a large section of the Spanish people is fighting, much more than they fear General Franco's fascism. They are the same men, belonging to the same parties and classes who were in power between February 16th and July 18th, 1936, when the fascist plot was organized within Spain with the co-operation of the highest officials of the State, and outside Spain, with the support of the Republic's Ambassadors—all of whom sided with the Rebels soon after the pronunciamiento.

Thus, having seen nothing, having done nothing to avert disaster, the Republican Government of Spain was undecided whether to oppose armed force to the

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COUNTER-REVOLUTION AT WORK

For some time it has been a well known fact that the capitalist system, its church, press and government are avowed enemies of the incomparable and heroic struggle for freedom which the people of Spain, aided by the thousands of volunteer-revolutionists from practically every corner of the globe, have been waging for the past ten months. It is, therefore, not with these OPEN enemies of freedom and justice that this article aims to deal.

Many of us within the Anarchist movement were hoping that in so clear-cut a war between the forces of darkness and light, as that which began on July 17, 1936 in Spain, there would be no need for coming forward in the midst of the struggle to say what must be said now. This most unpleasant task is not of one's own choosing, as the reader will soon realize. To have remained silent toward what is now happening in Spain would be equivalent to having become silent and approving partners to one of the most heinous crimes that some of the political parties have committed and are committing against the struggle for freedom in Spain.

There is no longer any need of exposing the betrayal of Leon Blum of France to this struggle for freedom. Nor is it necessary to point out the equally rank sort of betrayal enacted by Socialist and Communist government officials and particularly by the so-called spokesmen of the labor movements everywhere. All these treacheries, emanating from the midst of those ranks and, in turn, becoming far more treacherous and condemnable than the open acts of deceit and violence committed by the avowed open enemies of freedom, pale into insignificance with the sort of double-crossing and treacheries now enacted in Spain—seemingly at the behest of the proletarian government of Russia.

First, let it be re-stated that, according to International Law, every government was obligated to sell arms and ammunition ONLY to the legally constituted government of Spain. The LEAST that the Bolshevik government of Russia might have been expected to do was to try and live up to the existing International Law. By failing to do so and by joining the International Blockade established by all other governments against the interests of the struggle for freedom in Spain, the Bolshevik government committed an unpardonable and indefensible act of treachery. (I am here omitting any discussion of the naked humbug of the value of LAW that was being so shamelessly flaunted by its sworn up-holders since by the very flaunting one of the main reasons for the anarchist opposition to all governments and their laws was fully vindicated.)

The manner in which the fascist and Nazi regimes carried out their "obligations," as a part of those governments that form the International Blockade, has already become a by-word of ridicule and laughter. Since September, 1936, it has been an established fact that the beast Franco could never have initiated his bloody "coup d'etat" had it not been for the direct cooperation and assistance given him by the officials of the governments of Italy, Germany and Portugal. More than that, it is known and accepted (and no doubt secretly approved)—by the International Blockade itself—that the bulk of Franco's army consisted of whole regiments of German and Italian armies using German and Italian arms and ammunition.

In the face of all these acts of duplicity carried out against the struggle for freedom in Spain, the government of Russia kept its eyes and mouth tightly closed for nearly four months! The rising protests of its own followers everywhere, coupled by the display of the glorious and never-to-be-forgotten show of solidarity by the oppressed of the whole world and by thousands of revolutionists who came forward VOLUNTARILY to join in the heroic struggle being waged by the people of Spain, led the Bolshevik government of Russia to SECRETLY SELL some arms and ammunition.

But the world does not yet know the price—expected in cold cash—that the Bolshevik government exacted before agreeing to do this!

Numerically speaking, the Communists of Spain never carried any degree of influence upon the industrial or farm workers of that country. This fact played no small part in the TRUE motives of the Bolshevik government's reluctance to render aid—even for cold cash—to the struggle for freedom in Spain. This may sound unbelievable to the sincere followers of the Bolsheviks, followers who believe that people who swear themselves to be the most sincere revolutionary descendants of Karl Marx and, holding the reins of a government in their hands, would never stoop so low. But facts are stubborn things. They cannot be changed by one's wishes and sincere desires.

True enough, those of us who learned of these double-crossings did not wish to come out in exposing them. We hoped that these misdeeds would not gain that upper hand of importance which might endanger the struggle for freedom in Spain. But we were wrong. No matter how small the misdeed—it always grows into a monstrosity. This is exactly what has happened with the dubious role of the Bolshevik government in the Spanish struggle.

Needless to point out or emphasize that the Bolshevik government was fully aware of the fact the fighters for liberty in Spain badly needed arms and ammunition. Doubtlessly, they were also fully aware of the fact that the greatest social and political influence upon the Spanish people during the last seventy years has been exerted by the proponents of ANARCHISM. They likewise saw that the Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.) and the Iberian Anarchist Federation (F.A.I.) had made a great compromise with their ideas by becoming a part of the newly created government. This last act gave the Bolshevik government its greatest hope in its well schemed

designs to impose its ideological reign upon the people of Spain.

The first inroad made by the Bolshevik government in its attempt to impose an ideological reign upon the struggle for freedom in Spain came with the sudden demand put forward for a "unified front". It was an insincere issue to have raised, especially in so heroic a battle as was and is being waged in Spain. How well one recalls that the oppressed people of Russia were able to overthrow Czarism as well as every counter-revolutionary movement WITHOUT ANY EXISTING "UNIFIED FRONT"—just as the oppressed people of Barcelona, Madrid and many other parts of Spain were likewise able, without any "unified front", to defeat the fascist mercenary counter-revolutionists. But, luckily, the anarchist elements of the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. thought of the important need of not jeopardizing the common struggle against the fascist enemy for the sake of an empty shibboleth. Thus, the Bolsheviks easily won their first "victory" in Spain.

The spirit of solidarity that this grandiose struggle for freedom in Spain aroused among the oppressed of the world matched the battle being waged on the very soil of Spain. Provisions and money began to be forwarded to Spain. This is still being done and will, no doubt, continue until the victorious end for Liberty. Who, of the contributors, could have imagined for one moment that the central government of Spain would have withheld any share of this aid for Catalonia—only because the Anarchists have the greater influence there? The C. N. T. and the F. A. I. saw this shameful act and swallowed it amidst pangs of pain. Again they refused to jeopardize the struggle against the common enemy.

Funds were badly needed to feed the people of Catalonia and to enable the continuance of work on the land and in the factories. Yet the Madrid government not only refused to give any of the huge gold reserves of the Bank of Spain but also refused to advance any loans. Once again the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. kept silent about this outrageous action—so as not to jeopardize the common struggle.

Taunts deriding the inactivity of anarchist fighters at the various fronts in Spain began to make their appearances in Socialist and Communist publications. (In this country Louis Fisher, Bolshevik apologist correspondent for the "Nation", joined in the poisonous spreading of this slander.) Such have been the misdeeds of the political enemies of Anarchism.... in the face of the admittedly pointed-out heroism and uncompromising battles that the Anarchists had waged in Irun and San Sebastian and at all the other fronts! It remained for that lone but sincere true liberal English weekly to come directly forward to vindicate the Anarchists for this monstrous slander. Mr. Cyril Connolly of "The New Statesman and Nation" has been in Spain during most of these last ten months. In the issue of February 20, 1937, of this weekly, he states:

"I have just spent a further three weeks in Spain, visiting Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, Alicante and Murcia. The impressions which follow are open to contradiction and will probably be contradicted, but so far as possible they are unbiased and the result of checking up on many conversations with many different kinds of people... The outstanding elements in the Government backed up officially by the Communists, whose policy is to support a bourgeois Spain against what they consider the premature revolutionary activities of the Anarchists and the P.O.U.M.... The Communists and Socialists say: 'First win the war; then attend to the revolution.' The younger Anarchists and the P.O.U.M. says 'The war and the revolution are indivisible and we must go with both of them simultaneously. If we postpone the revolution, how are we to know that you are in good faith?' The Anarchist Ministers try to hold a balance between them, while they advance their giant scheme to fuse the C.N.T. with the U.G.T. into a huge proletarian combine of syndicated workers which would get on with the war, guarantee the revolution, get rid of the friction between the parties and permit both the F.A.I. and the Communists to disappear as political entities... The opposition to the Anarchists is more serious, for it is based on a relative ignorance of the role they have played for seventy years in Spain, and of their solidarity with the Spanish workers and their hold on the Spanish character... The Communists point to their inefficiency. 'Look at the inaction on the Aragon front. The Fascists could walk through it at any moment'. The Anarchists reply: 'That is because we have only a few Mexican rifles and very little artillery and machine-guns—not one Russian arm has ever reached us, because we are to be denied any success and our defeat may be being arranged for, although we saved Barcelona and supplied the Government with its only popular hero, Durruti, whom we sent to Madrid'. Thus between thirty and forty thousand men are immobile on the northern front at a time when a victorious counter-attack is desperately needed, and when the troops opposed to them are clearly demoralized and awaiting reinforcements.

What Mr. Cyril Connolly—as an honest and sincere journalist—reveals can be called by one name only—TREACHERY. Treachery against the struggling masses in Spain. And this treachery is being shown by the very people within Spain who are attempting to accuse the anar-

chists of the identical crime of which they themselves are guilty. And even in the face of this duplicity the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. have refused to make an issue of this—hoping and working for a change in the terrible state of affairs—again not to jeopardize the struggle against the common enemy.

It is now becoming quite evident that there should have been a limit as to what extent the C.N.T. and F.A.I. would go in remaining silent about the treacherous misdeeds perpetrated against them by the very people with whom they had compromised to work for the sake of giving common battle to the enemy of Liberty. The following news dispatch to the Associated Press, printed in the "New York Times" of April 22, 1937, furnishes the strongest proof thereof.

Perpignan, France, April 21. A.P.—The moderating elements in the Valencia government, pursuing a rigid campaign of suppression by force, are slowly getting the upper hand over trouble-making anarchists... In some cases street battles have been necessary to establish the authority of Premier Largo Caballero's government... Government troops beat down anarchist defiance in the town of Vinolella, a few miles north of Madrid, shooting the recalcitrants in the streets when they offered battle against Valencia's decisions... Four hundred anarchists have been imprisoned in Valencia and reports set 125 as the number executed by firing squads... Anarchist troops have been removed from the Teruel front... The government has almost succeeded in taking all arms away from civilians... It is expected, however, that many civilians have stored away firearms for the "next civil war".

The full details in this piece of news, as well as the revelations made by Cyril Connolly, can have but one meaning and result: a break-up of the common front against the enemy—what the C.N.T. and F.A.I. have been trying so hard to prevent all this time. This break-up is now being forcibly brought about by the maneuvers of the Bolshevik government of Russia, via its agents now controlling the course of action of the central government of Spain!

And one is forced to ask: who—EXCEPT THE ENEMY FASCISM—is going to reap the full benefit of this break-up of the common front against the enemy of this struggle in Spain?

Perhaps it is not yet too late to intervene and stop this most shameful of treacheries which the Bolshevik rulers engineered in Spain! Are there not enough sincere followers among the Bolshevik and Socialist ranks able to realize the criminal deeds that are being enacted against the Anarchists of Spain, deeds which can have one result—the defeat of the magnificent struggle for liberty? Will all such men and women of these two movements in every part of the world not raise their voices of protest and demand of the Bolshevik government of Russia and of the Central government of Spain that they immediately cease their outrageous treacheries against the Anarchists... so that the common enemy shall not reap the harvest of triumph as a result of the breaking up of the anti-fascist front?

* * *

How history does repeat itself!

During the most critical years of the revolution in Russia, the years 1917-1920, most of the counter-revolutionary attempts were being made again and again in Ukraina, the southern part of Russia.

The peasantry constitutes the principal part of the population. It was influenced chiefly by anarchist thought and action. The peasants seized the land, divided it among themselves and were ready, at any time, to defend themselves and their achievements. When the counter-revolutionary attempts were begun, the peasants rallied as one man around the Makhnovtze Movement. (Nestor Makhno, an anarchist, was its most heroic figure. He died in Paris in 1934, an exile hounded by the Bolshevik government. His death was the result of an infected leg, ridden with bullets in the defense of the revolution in Russia). Lacking ammunition, arms and other supplies needed to enable them to give battle to the counter-revolutionists, the Makhnovtzes appealed to the Central government of Russia for aid. Leon Trotsky, then functioning as head of the "red" Army, categorically refused to furnish any aid to the attacked peasantry of Ukraina until such time as they would agree to submit to the discipline rules of the Red Army! The peasants refused to throw their ideological beliefs overboard. Thus the action of the Bolshevik government proved to be of the greatest aid to the counter-revolutionists. (Then—as NOW in Spain—the Bolshevik apologists carried on a campaign of vilification against the Makhnovtzes!) It was only when the counter-revolutionary forces, gaining ground against the defenseless Ukrainian peasants, began to threaten the reign of the Central government that the Bolshevik rulers made a written agreement with the Makhnovtzes. No sooner was the last remnant of the counter-revolutionists crushed than the Bolshevik government revealed its duplicity. Its police agents descended upon an anarchist congress that was being held in Kharkov and arrested more than 400 delegates. All Anarchists were outlawed and their organs ordered suppressed. And the "red" Army marched in to reap the harvest of the sacrifices made by the Anarchist peasantry of Ukraina.

How strongly the events of Ukraina resemble those that are now being perpetrated in Spain... and again at

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CONSPIRACY AGAINST SPAIN

(Continued from page 1)

fascist rebellion even when it was spreading all over the country. Only the spontaneous upsurge of the people dragged it into the war. And for many months, while the Spanish workers were fighting and crushing fascism in some regions, giving away in some others before the advancing hordes—the Government did practically nothing to stem the onslaught of general Franco's mercenaries. The siege of Toledo is a fair illustration of the Madrid Government's halfheartedness in the war.

At the beginning of November, while Franco's troops were approaching Madrid, and the population of this heroic city was unanimous in its purpose to defend their homes and independence, the Frente Popular Government of Spain disbanded rather than flee to Valencia—where it reassembled only when it appeared that the enemy would go no further than the banks of the Manzanares River. It was resigned to lose its capital.

Whatever this Government has ever done to put up a semblance of a resistance against the destructive forces of Franco, it has done under popular pressure or under guidance of such foreign powers as were anxious to prevent the total fascistization of Spain by Italian and German troops. Of its own initiative, according to "Solidaridad Obrera" (Barcelona publication) it seems to have done nothing worse than suggest the "non-intervention" policy at the beginning of the civil war. It was in the name of this non-intervention policy that the sale of arms to loyalist Spain was forbidden by all democratic Governments while the Dictators furnished Franco with all kinds of war devices and troops by the shipload.

But popular pressure, however strong and vigilant, has proved unable to move the Government and force it to do certain things which are necessary to win the war. Malaga, for instance, was left unprotected and then practically delivered to the enemy on Feb. 7, 1937. Popular opinion has insistently charged that Malaga was betrayed, naming the traitors and claiming that they be punished. General Ascensio, Under-Secretary of War under the second Caballero Government, has insistently been accused of being an "organizer of defeats". The Government has been adamant and covered all the officers who were suspected of treason.

For many months all the revolutionist newspapers and organizations have been demanding that arms be sent to the Aragon Front where thousands of militiamen were eager to fight and wrest beloved Saragossa and Huesca and Teruel from fascist hands: The Government has been adamant and consistently refused to send arms to the Aragon front, although it is evident that a strong offensive against the fascist armies in Aragon is the only means of rescuing Bilbao and the Basque provinces.

Fear of Government

Of course, there is a reason for this attitude, and it is the very same reason for which the Republican Government has allowed the fascist conspiracy to be organized and launched and then invade one half of Spain.

Fear of Social Revolution is the reason. Malaga was predominantly anarcho-syndicalist. Aragon is thoroughly social-revolutionist. Its leader is Joachim Ascaso—one of a famous dynasty of Anarchists; its army is manned by anarchists and revolutionists from Catalonia and many countries of Europe. Hence, to furnish the Aragon army the means of attaining an important victory against the fascists would mean a further spread of the revolutionary infection. This the Frente Popular Government is not willing to permit.

Thus, a perfect collusion of aims and means between the Spanish Republican Government and the prevailing policy of the London Committee is evident. Neither wants a victory for Social Revolution. Since the majority of the Spanish people are ardently in favor of Social Revolution, this means that neither wants a decisive victory of the Spanish people over the fascist invaders. Peace without victory is the real aim of the Valencia Government, as it is the aim announced by Mr. Eden—all high-sounding declamations notwithstanding.

That this is the policy of the Frente Popular Government of Spain is amply proved by other circumstances.

As long as it appeared that it would be impossible for the popular militia to stop the advancing hordes of Gen. Franco, the Republican Government contented itself in assisting inertly in the devastation and bloodshed. But no sooner did it appear that the fiery resistance of Madrid and the heroic stand of its Spanish and international defenders had definitely stopped the fascist conquest, than the Government began to move and proclaim the urgent necessity of abandoning all immediate plans for revolutionary reconstruction in order to win the war. The fact that Socialists and Communists were loudest in proclaiming this necessity does not alter the fact that it was a conservative policy aimed at the people in general and at the revolutionists in particular.

Then started—several months since—a real wave of violence and persecution against the popular libertarian movement.

In July, but for the spontaneous impetus of the

people, the Constitutional Government of the Republic would have been suppressed by a victorious pronunciamiento. These same people had then organized their own militia which had fought on the Aragon, Asturian and Andalusian fronts, and saved Madrid. Had they not been ostracized by Governmental jealousy they would have taken the offensive on all fronts. Now, in the name of military efficiency these popular militias were dissolved as such and incorporated in an army of the State.

In July the Republic was saved by the workers who had taken up arms against the fascist mutineers. In the face of Governmental impotence and desertion, the workers swore to themselves never to disarm themselves. Now the Government proceeded to disarm them by force and violence. The Anarchist and Anarcho-syndicalist movements clearly understood that this step was aimed at subjugating the people in order to be able to impose upon them their own will—to undo all the transformations which had been accomplished by the armed workers in the economic and political fields. Therefore, they strenuously opposed it by vindicating the right of the people to bear arms in defense of their own freedom.

From this contrast serious conflicts generated. Soon, in the name of war restraint, the government censored those newspapers which proclaimed the revolutionary rights of the people. Then whole issues of such papers were confiscated. Some were even suspended for various periods of time. War censorship became a political censorship to promote the conservative designs of the authoritarian parties.

"New" Enemies

What had saved Spain in July had been the unanimous action of shades of Spanish popular opinion—especially the united action of the two major Labor organizations: the marxist Union General de Trabajadores and the Anarcho-syndicalist Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo. Now, the Marxist parties controlling the Government were doing their utmost to undermine such unity of purpose among the organized workers. They started by excluding a minority faction of their own—the P.O.U.M., a marxist minority falsely accused of following Trotsky—from political life in Catalonia, and they ended by waging an open war against all Anarchists and Anarcho-syndicalists.

As early as January and February symptoms of this war appeared. Factories and fields, which had been socialized by common consent of marxist and anarcho-syndicalist workers, were ordered reintegrated to their previous state by local authorities; oftentimes old-time capitalists supported marxist militants. In the province of Valencia several towns were attacked by surprise by Governmental military expeditions who either killed or arrested militant libertarians, disarmed the others and terrorized the population. In Villanueva de Alcardete, Socialist and Communist militiamen attacked by surprise the local anarcho-syndicalist workers as they returned from their daily toil, killed 16 of them, arrested scores—and went, of course, unpunished. In Murcia a secret organization of mysterious terrorists had for some time succeeded in apprehending persons, generally C.N.T. militants, and suppressing them without leaving any trace of their crimes. When finally they were discovered and arrested, the leaders of this gang were found to be members in perfect standing of the Communist Party. The infamous Tcheka of Leninist and Trotskyist Russia had been implanted in Spain! Prior to the beginning of the latest offensive against Bilbao, the Basque Government, of which Socialist and Communist representatives are members, seized the printing establishment of the anarcho-syndicalist daily "CNT del Norte", gave it to the local organ of the Communist Party and jailed all the editorial staff of the former.

Catalonia alone had so far been more or less immune from this offensive in which the counter-revolutionary elements of Republican Spain operated through the Socialist and Communist shock troops. The reactionary exploits of the Communist supporters of the capitalist regime in Spain have been so conspicuous that Communists heretofore regarded as standbearers of Revolution deserved the unstinted praise even of the American plutocratic press. The solemn "New York Times" itself was lavish in such praise when news came that the anarcho-syndicalist "Iron Column" had been arrested in part and partly massacred by Marxist shock troops.

But everyone knew that it was only a question of time before Catalonia itself would be attacked. About the beginning of April, Rodriguez Salas, Chief of the Catalan police, sent some of his men against the village of Rens in order to disarm its population which is pre-

dominantly anarcho-syndicalist. Salas' attempt failed, and bloodshed was spared for the time being.

These facts are only a few of the many which might be cited to prove how deeply the Frente Popular Government of Valencia is hostile to the socialistic and libertarian hopes and aims of the Spanish people. Its Socialist and Communist members are so only in name. In reality they are sworn to restore the capitalistic order as it existed prior to the July Revolution. To attain this they are ready to employ any means, including massacre, internecine war at the risk of a collapse of the loyalist armies in front of the fascist hordes. They and their shock troops are the vanguard of the capitalist restoration in Spain.

May 3rd Rebellion

As for the anarcho-syndicalist members of the Valencia Government, they have served their purpose. They were used by consumed politicians as stooges to give the Spanish people a new confidence in their Government, and to gain enough prestige to enable it to do away with the popular militias. This end attained, the presence of anarcho-syndicalist militants in a bourgeois government became an impediment—and they were dismissed with little thanks a few days ago.

That the policies of the Republican Government of Spain coincide perfectly with the pro-fascist policies of England and of the London Committee is further proved by the events which followed the armed attack against anarcho-syndicalist workers in Barcelona, on May 3rd.

This attack has been the logical consequence of the previous longhanded preparations.

Details of the tragedy are still lacking. However, this much is known: Rodriguez Salas' shock troops, under order of the Government, invaded the Barcelona Telephone Building which was operated by anarcho-syndicalist workers. The latter defended themselves and the fight started to spread quickly and for several days all over the city and more or less, all over the autonomous Generalidad of Catalonia.

Left to their own resources, the allied Governments of Catalonia and Valencia would certainly have been defeated in no time by the prevalently anarcho-syndicalist workers of the city and region.

But two obstacles to such a speedy popular victory appeared.

First, a section of the anarcho-syndicalist movement, which had approved the participation of their representatives in the two Governments, either abstained from taking an active part in the resistance to the Governmental violence, or pleaded with the more sensible and ardent libertarians to lay down arms and come to terms with the Government—for the sake of the united front against fascism.

Secondly, all of a sudden French and British warships appeared in the port of Barcelona accompanied by Loyalist Spanish Ships—which have never engaged in a single combat against the very active fascist fleet since the civil war began. All their combined guns were pointed against Barcelona. Furthermore, marine troops were landed from the French units and lined around the official buildings of the Catalan Government.

At large, beyond the three mile limit, hovered the Italian and German warships doing patrol duty in accordance with the London Committee blockade decisions.

It will be weeks or even months before we know what really happened then. The Spanish and French and British censorships have functioned so well that no news has so far reached us from Catalonia. What we know comes from border cities and is very laconic.

Nevertheless, it indicates that the work of the marxist gangsters, in the service of Spanish and International Capitalism, has been so thoroughly unscrupulous and atrocious that it leaves nothing unmatched with fascist and nazi atrocities.

Many hundreds, perhaps thousands, of persons have been killed either in open combat or by secret punitive expeditions. Among the dead are Domenico Ascaso and Camillo Berneri.

How Comrade Ascaso met his doom we do not know at this date. But we do know that Comrade Berneri was seized from his home during the night, together with another Italian Comrade named Francesco Barbieri, and murdered in cold blood by marxist (P.S.V.C.) henchmen—in the best tradition of the Russian Tcheka.

The bloody massacre of Kronstadt has been repeated in Barcelona. . . .

Thus fares Spain under the international blockade. Blood is flowing everywhere—within fascist-occupied territory—to appease the fears of a bloodthirsty and Catholic aristocracy unresigned to its doom—at all fronts to decide the fortunes of a war which has been doomed by an international conspiracy of reactionary politicians and fake democrats to end without decision—inside loyalist territory to satisfy the ignominious hates of a gang of marxist stooges serving national and international plutocracy.

But make no mistake about it.

It took 18,000 lives to crush the liberty loving Kronstadt revolutionists.

The Spanish proletariat is bleeding copiously, but it is still very much alive and more than ever determined to conquer its economic and political freedom.

We shall hear from it—yet!

Never would we idealize war. We would accept it as a fatality, but today—as yesterday—we curse it.

We engage in war only for the Revolution.

We are fighting with the firm conviction and with the constant obsession that this war must completely transform the basis of the present society, rendering any new human slaughter impossible.

Neutrals are either traitors or cowards.

"RUTA"

IN RETROSPECT OF CURRENT EVENTS

Who Are Our Enemies?

The press has been telling us, for several months, that Catalonia has become an autonomous state. We have learned through our own publications how our brave comrades in Barcelona had succeeded, during the course of a few hours, in squelching any symptom of fascism in Catalonia—the demon which, since July, 1936, with the open and secret aid of all governments of the world, has been devastating Spain. We have learned how the Anarchists in Catalonia—always in the vanguard in this struggle for freedom—had taken the initiative in bringing about a Social Revolution.

But, during these last ten months, we have learned something more. Rather, we have seen reaffirmed the fact that Anarchists can participate in no united front. We have seen how the Anarchists participated in the government of Spain. This they did because they felt they did not want to jeopardize the Revolution! They did not want to act against the other revolutionary parties—against “comrades,” “brothers,” but we say against counter-revolutionists. Our comrades in Barcelona thought that by participating in the government they would have a better chance of witnessing a real revolution which would bring about freedom, equality and justice for the people of Spain and an impetus for the Anarchists throughout the world. But, while our comrades acted in full sincerity for the revolution, they were being knifed by the Socialists and Communists; by politicians whose aim it is to restore a capitalist regime in Spain.

This fact has been proved more than once, but it has been reaffirmed through the uprising which occurred in Barcelona on May 3rd. This was an open attack against the Anarchists in Catalonia. What really happened there we will never know, for censorship is too well controlled by forces whose aim it is to suppress the spread of Social Revolution. But what we do know is this. The Socialists and Communists, who have falsely pretended to work with our comrades in fighting the fascists, are betraying the people of Spain. They are, therefore, betraying the principles of freedom and equality which have been so integral a part of this bloodshed during the last ten months. The Socialists and Communists, working in and with the government of Valencia, are at the same time, working with the non-intervention Committee which aims at the restoration of capitalism in Spain. The Socialists and Communists are the real enemies of the people of Spain; they are the ones who are trying to suffocate the Social Revolution.

Now, more than ever, have they become a menace in this valiant fight which the population of Spain has so bravely waged. Now, more than ever, because they are openly fighting against the Anarchists who have given their all not only to fight fascism but to push on Social Revolution. Now more than ever must we *beware* of these elements which cover themselves with the mask of “united front” and which, at the same time, knife our comrades.

That they were aware of the fact that the Anarchists of Barcelona were too “dangerous” for them is evident by the fact that they led the uprising of May 3rd in Barcelona and killed hundreds of our comrades. That they realized that the Anarchists are influential throughout Spain is brought out by the fact that the Anarchist members of the Cabinet of the government of Valencia were dismissed this last week. The new government, headed by Negrin, is well constituted. Its Communist and Socialist members are now free to act in full accordance with the reactionary forces of Spain. These “radical” elements have placed the fight against fascism in the background. Today they are openly fighting against the Anarchists. They are confiscating their publications; they are taking possession of their foodstuffs, they are killing our comrades. They are crushing Social Revolution.

What more can we expect of the stooges of Stalin and the “government of the proletariat”?

We remember Kronstadt! Some 18,000 lives were taken in that memorable strife. Spain, for them, is another Kronstadt! Their aim is identical. They are today, as they were in the Russian Revolution, the enemies of anything that spells freedom and equality.

But they have to contend with a people which is convinced that it will fight to the end for its freedom and for our freedom. These counter-revolutionary elements are confronted with a fighting population which will die rather than give up as defeated.

MANI

A Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement
H. Havel, Editor

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Administration and Editorial Address

H. Havel, P. O. Box 95, Sta. D., New York, N. Y.

Workers of Spain! Comrades who have so nobly carried on the fight for ten months! Remember that now, more than ever, you must continue in this fight for freedom, for Social Revolution. If you have erred, you have done so sincerely. Now is the time that you must profit by your errors. You must realize that doubt is no longer possible. Your “brothers,” who so openly preached the doctrine of “united front” are counter-revolutionists. *They are your enemies. Beware of your enemies!* They are killing your real brothers. They are undoing all you have done in these last ten months. Anarchists of Spain, people of Spain, you must keep on the valiant fight, for your battle is our battle, your losses our losses, your gains our gains.

Workers of America! Workers of the world! You have seen how the counter-revolutionists of Spain have betrayed the very principles for which the Iberian population has been shedding blood. You have seen this done under the mantle of “united front.” Workers! Now more than ever do the real fighters in Spain need your solidarity. Now more than ever must you realize that there can be only one united front—that of real fighters who are really fighting for freedom, justice and equality, for a society where we can live as *men*.

Whose Interest?

Thousands of Basque youngsters, innumerable homeless men and women of Bilbao have been taken as refugees to France and England. The *N. Y. Times* of May 22 reports that the United States government is considering the proposal to accept five hundred children from Bilbao who have been made homeless and orphans through the tyranny and barbarism of General Francisco Franco and his army. This, no doubt, is a move on the part of these governments to show that it is their aim to be humane, to aid in the ceasing of this bloodshed which is daily costing innumerable lives.

But they cannot lead us to believe that they are really interested in the welfare of the people of Spain—of the homeless children, of the men and women who have been torn from their homes and their loved ones. We cannot believe this, for at the same time these same governments are participants to the non-intervention scheme and to the international bloc which has deprived these very same people, whom they are now willing to shelter, of the necessary arms and ammunitions which would have enabled them to crush the fascists from Bilbao and from all of Spain.

By this false pretense they are aiming to show the people of their respective countries that they are willing to aid in insuring the welfare of Spanish refugees. But we know better than that. We know that international diplomacy has been playing a game of checker-board with the people of Spain. We know that all governments are interested in the events in Spain. They are interested, because they do not want to see the people of Spain rise victorious over the fascist border. It is in their interest to crush every semblance of Social Revolution in Spain.

But it is our interest to see that the people of Spain get the aid they need. It is not yet too late. We must help our comrades there *now*, for they need us. We must realize that their fight is our fight because they are dying in the interest of all the disinherited, all the oppressed of the world. No, we will not let the governments continue in this hypocritical tyranny against a population which has so courageously fought for freedom. To crush the struggle in Spain is the interest of every government throughout the world. To aid our comrades at the battlefield of Spain, to rise in solidarity with them, to aid them in this fight for real freedom for all—that is and must be our interest.

What Next?

We learn from the Spanish publications coming from Barcelona that the Communists are resorting to every form of barbarism to squelch the people of Spain in their attempt to set up another “government of the proletariat” in the country where people are fighting fascism, but more than that, where they are really fighting for freedom in the real sense of the word. A carload of cans of condensed milk was sent to the children of Spain by a committee of workers in this country. The committee who sent the milk was not made up of Communists. When the milk arrived in Spain the Communists took possession of it. They offered it to the people—but in return they had to contribute financially to the Communist Organization.

What more are we to expect of the Communists? They are killing our comrades; now they are depriving the children of milk that is sent to them. But we are not really surprised at anything they do, for we can expect anything from them. The agents of Moscow are red fascists—but fascists, nevertheless. And here we do not make a distinction of color. Fascism in all its forms and colors must be crushed now—in Spain, everywhere. We must not let these people forge ahead. They are a menace to society; they are a great obstacle in our fight towards Social Revolution. That is what they were in Russia in 1917; that is what they are today in Spain; that is what they will be tomorrow in another part of the world.

What next? That depends on us if we want to fight for our own freedom.

On American Politics

The stated purpose of the Administration's new substitute for NRA is to establish “fair labor standards” for all industries which are engaged in inter-state commerce or which substantially “affect” inter-state commerce. To this end the Federal Wages-Hours Bill proposes to prohibit the employment of children under the age of 16 in all such industries. It also provides for a standard maximum work week which is to consist of forty hours and for a standard minimum wage which is to be forty cents an hour. A new Labor Standards Board of five members would be created by this bill, and this board would be empowered to make various exceptions to the rules regarding hours and wages.

Since 1933 we have been told that Mr. Roosevelt, savior of the American people, had arrived to put everything in order in this country. He tried the NRA; it did not work. He tried the AAA; it did not work. He has been trying many things since then, but they do not work. Now he is attempting to federalize everything. Yes, he states that children under 16 must not be allowed to work. But it is all a “racket.” So long as we find these abominable laws in existence we will find children being exploited, we will find misery and delinquency. The Administration does not see things in that light. It is aiming to set up a “new” state capitalism, embedded with the traditions of America, yet giving a modern, adequate, up-to-date interpretation to the Constitution.

This is shown by the division in the trade union movement. The C.I.O. has stepped in to represent the “new”; the A. F. of L. is stepping out as the “old”. The C.I.O. has the full approval of the New Deal Administration. During the last few months the fight between the “new” and “old” has become quite strong. The sit-down strike method has been lavishly used. Roosevelt and his Administration did not *openly* oppose it; in fact, they have been benevolently silent about it. But they are at the same time instructing the C. I. O. which is becoming the central labor union of the country. That is the means by which the Administration is “organizing” the workers.

Even if the automobile strike was not successful, the indications are that the “old” is being absorbed by the “new.” The approval of the Wagner Act by the sedate reactionary Supreme Court is justification of the surrender of the “old” to the “new.”

No doubt, Roosevelt will get his Court plan, for he gets all he goes after. We are told he is using “democratic” methods, but he is using the methods of all rulers of all governments.

The economics of Capitalism is an old story to us. It consists of class distinction, oppression of the masses, government regulation of the individual's entire life. These features are present in every form of government. That is why the people of Spain are so courageously fighting for freedom; they understand what Capitalism and government in any form mean. This does not exclude the “proletariat government” of Russia.

The fight between the two factions of Capitalism is not yet over. Regardless as to who rises victorious, the workers have nothing to expect from Capitalism.

But Capitalism has something to fear from the workers. This clash between Capitalists cannot go on forever. They have the population to contend with. The people can take so much and no more. Even under “democratic” conditions this clash cannot keep the masses down forever. Nor can democracy be everlasting. For no form of government can give the masses what they really need: freedom, justice, well-being, happiness. This the workers must get for themselves. They have given too much. They must begin to take, for the masses are the real source of wealth; they are the force which brings real progress; they are the fountain from which gushes the essentials of life itself.

“I BELIEVE”

I believe that the basis of my faith is an urge within me to attain and secure my own integrity, for without such an impulse I will not be thoroughly honest with the responses of my senses to the facts of life, nor in my dealings with my neighbors, nor in my ideals of truth and beauty.

I believe that my own integrity is the basis of all sympathetic understandings and companionships with those of my own kind, of all sense of responsibility for social welfare, of all feelings of obligation toward the promotion of a better order of society.

I believe that my own integrity is the best defense against fears, panics, passions, manias, and all the aberrations and defections from what is normal, healthful and wholesome.

In this faith, at the age of sixty eight, I have learned to discount my failures, disappointments, illusions, and discouragements on the one hand, and on the other how my daily modicum of effort adjusts my life to the course of events and gives me an integral position in the processes of history. And as I work I observe the unfolding story of the worldwide scene with joy in the faith that mankind will learn the art of living.

THOS. J. LLOYD.

CAMILLO BERNERI — Murdered by counter-revolutionists in Spain

We had just completed the article on the "rising" in Barcelona, and, during a moment's respite, our thoughts went to our brave comrades in Catalonia who, from July 19th, have been waging a struggle unheard of in its intensity through the history of the workers' fight against reaction. These brave comrades are now fighting to the last man, in the streets of Barcelona, in an effort to counter attack the "democratic" governmental forces which are making desperate attempts to exploit the Social Revolution and the sacrifice of the workers to strengthen their bourgeois, militaristic reformist ambitions. All this, as in Russia, at the expense of the Anarchist. During this contemplation, we were brought to face grim reality when a telegram reached us announcing the death of our comrade Camillo Berneri, in Barcelona.

For us, who have had the pleasure of enjoying the intimacy of our dear Comrade's company and conversation, it is difficult to believe that we shall no longer make contact with him; even now there is that lingering hope which tells us that it all may be a mistake, or that he has been wounded only.

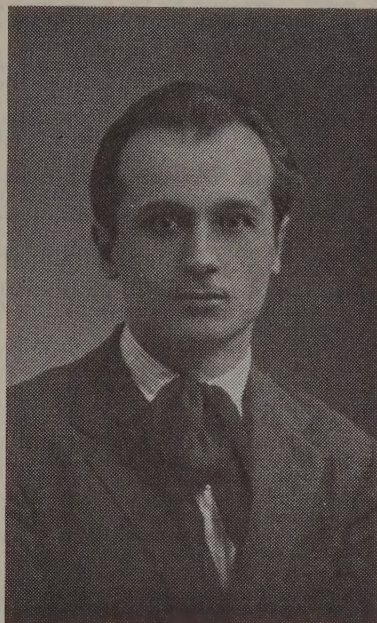
Our English speaking comrades may not be familiar with Camillo Berneri's name or with his work. In remembering him in the columns of *Spain and The World*, which has always received his help and advice, we remember a comrade who, through years of exile, deportation from five countries, imprisonment in Belgium and France, remained the true and sincere Anarchist; Anarchist in his way of living, Anarchist in his understanding of the "masses", Anarchist during these last nine momentous months in Spain. It is an impossible task, in the limited space at our disposal, to record here all his work for the Anarchist movement. At the early age of eighteen, articles and reviews from his pen were already to be read in our press. As a University student, and later as Professor in Philosophy in an Italian University, he was opposed to all coercion of mind and body. After continued persecutions at the hands of the Fascists, he was finally obliged to emigrate to France, from whence he continued his fight against Fascism by direct action and propaganda. Of the newspapers with which he collaborated, we can but mention a few: *L'Adunata dei Refrattari* of the United States, *Studi Sociali* of Montevideo, and numerous Spanish and French publications. Since the end of last year he edited *Guerra di Classe* in Barcelona, a newspaper whose frankness in exposing the counter-revolutionary action of the Communists in Spain and whose sincerity in pointing out the mistakes of our comrades in Spain (for our comrades are not infallible), have earned for it the respect and appreciation not only of the comrades abroad but also of the Spanish comrades.

Camillo Berneri was fully conscious of the future as far back as January when he wrote: "I have already stated, and once more repeat, the civil war can be won from the military point of view, but the political and social revolution is in danger, in serious danger." While our Spanish comrades seemed blind to the fact, he was fully aware that "Russian intervention is strengthening the Socialist-Communist forces which were, until then, outnumbered by the Anarchists."

Now, at the age of 40, when his life was most intense, when his life-long ideal was being realized, death has claimed him as its victim. But our comrade is not dead. His work, his abnegation must live in our minds and must be a source of inspiration to us to continue in our struggle for what is just and noble. The sacrifice of Berneri, the sacrifices of Durruti and Ascaso, the sacrifices of the hundreds of thousands of workers fighting in Spain must be the signal for the awakening of a new spirit amongst the workers of the world. It is that spirit alone which can bring a victory of the

workers over International reaction and Capitalistic interest.

It is our earnest desire that Camillo Berneri's valuable works be collected, by competent people, so that the movement may fully benefit from the experience, the depth of thought and insight, which were those of



CAMILLO BERNERI

our Comrade. For our part, we shall, during the coming month, dedicate space to translations of his works.

In remembering Camillo Berneri we remember and condole with his brave family, his aged mother, his companion and two daughters who, during these years of torment, have borne their lot with courage and have been a source of inspiration to our beloved comrade in the darkest moments of his exile.

The Anarchist movement, with the death of Camillo Berneri, loses one of its most devoted apostles. We cannot replace him, but we can learn from his experience and knowledge.

V. R.

"Spain and The World"

Yes, it is a grim reality. Camillo Berneri has been assassinated—not by Fascists—but by counter-revolutionists, by the agents of Moscow and officials of the U. G. T.

On the morning of May 4th, during the recent uprising in Barcelona, where many of our comrades were killed, two men wearing red arm bands entered the apartment where Berneri and Barbieri resided. They were told not to shoot since the visitors were friends from whom they had nothing to fear. Our two comrades replied that since they, too, were anti-fascists and had come to Spain to do their bit for the Social Revo-

lution, there was no reason why they should fire at anti-fascist workers. After this the two men left and were seen to enter the building wherein is located the syndicate of the U. G. T.

About three o'clock on the same afternoon, five or six men wearing red arm bands and six more carrying arms, came to the same apartment and stated they were authorized to search the house. Thinking that these men might be looking for arms, another comrade who was present gave them three muskets, stating that they were entrusted to her by comrades who came from the Huesca front. After this, all but two of the men left. These remained and confiscated documents that were in the house. Seeing that Berneri's room contained too much for them, they took some and stated they would return later with a car. Upon leaving, they warned our comrades not to leave the house and not to approach the window since they would be risking their lives. Our comrades questioned them on this merit, and the officers replied they had been informed that in the apartment resided Italian anarchists who were armed.

In the afternoon of the following day, twelve men wearing red arm bands and among them armed policemen again came to the apartment. This time they were accompanied by an individual in civilian clothes who ordered the arrest of Berneri and Barbieri. Whereupon, Barbieri demanded an explanation for this. The answer was that these two comrades were counter-revolutionists. To this Barbieri replied that never, in his twenty years of activity as a militant in the Anarchist movement, had he received a similar insult. The reply was that because he was an anarchist he was a counter-revolutionist. One of the women present saw the officer's badge number 1109.

The woman who had previously given them the arms stated that if an arrest was to be made, it was she who should be taken. But, no! The scoundrels were after Berneri who had recently put into writing the betrayals of the Communists and Socialists in Barcelona. Berneri and Barbieri were arrested!

On the morning of May 6th, at 9:30, two men wearing red arm bands returned to the house and assured the women there—one was the wife of Barbieri, the other comrade Tantini—that the two men would be freed at noon time.

In reality, the dead bodies of Berneri and Barbieri were found in the Clinical hospital. They were found, during the night, by the Red Cross. Barbieri's body was lying in the streets of the Rambla; the body of Berneri was found in the piazza of the Generalità.

This is what the "comrades" who have been feigning to fight side by side with the Anarchists are doing in Spain. They are really fighting against the Anarchists because they know that it is we, not they, who are really fighting for freedom. They are out to crush every semblance of this freedom; they are counter-revolutionists.

The tragic death of Berneri and Barbieri is one example of the barbarism that the Communists and other counter-revolutionists revert to. How much of this they are doing we can well imagine.

Berneri is dead. They have killed one of our most valuable comrades. Today, on the biers of Berneri and Barbieri, on the biers of Durruti, Ascaso, of the innumerable comrades who are similarly assassinated, today we must vouch that their deaths will not go unavenged. Today, more than ever, we say down with the counter-revolutionists. An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth—nay, more than that.

RAY RANDALL.

NOTE: The facts of the death of these two comrades were obtained from a supplement of Number 15 of *Guerra di Classe*, a paper issued at Barcelona and of which Berneri was formerly editor.

UNITED FRONT

The issue is ever present. The arguments are stale and repetitious: Let's get together; let's compromise; we have one common enemy; our particular aims and ideas must be forgotten because this is an emergency! The wolf is at the door and is threatening us all. Brothers, unite!

United Front! Where there is no common aspiration there can be no unity. A contingent superficial unity is not sincere and has no value. Those whose aim is rulership will never sincerely amalgamate with the advocates of freedom: the terms are too contradictory and incompatible. While it is possible that two widely opposed principles of rulership might occasionally join their forces for a common aim, it is against every tenet of logic; it is humanly impossible that the principles of freedom and rulership should band together even in the face of a danger which might affect both.

Who is talking about unity? People who have betrayed every revolutionary attempt, every labor movement and the very principles of their own political doctrines. The very same people who at every opportunity have imprisoned, exiled and slaughtered their political opponents. The very same scum whose slogan has been: "Conquer or destroy". Destroy deliberately and pitilessly, regardless of the consequences affecting humanity at large.

United front! We know this "revolutionary" gentry. We remember the Spartacist revolts of Germany. We re-

member Kronstadt. Urge, admire, exalt the irresistible action of the true revolutionists who generously and altruistically shed their blood and give their lives for the revolution; call them brothers, deceive them with the mirage of unity; then... Then when the "common" enemy has been routed and dispersed, seize power, give vent to your temporarily restrained damnable desires for rulership and if the very same true revolutionists will object and resist, why, then you can let go your well calculated maledictory blasts and present them as desperadoes, terrorists, uncontrollable, counter-revolutionaries, and massacre and slaughter them on the holy altar of power and rulership! For you, and you alone are the AMICI HUMANI GENERIS.

United front! By the thousands the revolutionists have been murdered by the Cheka, and by the thousands they are withering away in consumption and despair. The people of Spain have been and are being black-mailed and bartered for the prize of political power; the true revolutionists of Barcelona have been slaughtered by the powerfiends; even the meager succor of food afforded by international solidarity is being made a subject of speculation by the united front com-rats, and yet our "revolutionary" gentry is still re-echoing the tragical cry of unity.

Brothers! Abel and Cain were brothers.

The true revolutionists already have played the role of Abel too long. It is high time that the recurrence of

the biblical legend comes to an end. To allow the relationship of Abel to Cain to become the standard of brotherly love at this hour is a suicidal gesture. Why should anarchists unite with others conditional to the relinquishing of their aims and ideas of freedom and liberation from constrictions and rulership? Why should they be the ones to "give in", to compromise? Let all the advocates of united front "give in" for once and unite on the libertarian action of anarchism. If we have a common enemy, that enemy has no foe more bitter than the anarchists.

Therefore, let all these enemies of reaction and fascism join the anarchist movement in its uncompromising fight against all tyranny and for the complete triumph of freedom and justice. But we all know the snarl and contempt with which this proposal is met. The only united front the masters of political intrigue and the would be dictators believe in is that which will foster and promote their own petty interests. Outside of that they recognize no "brothers" and are ready to resort to murder and destruction, even though they might happen to be fighting the "common enemy" at present.

There is only one united front possible: the united front of all true revolutionists, of all those who fight for complete freedom and for the destruction of privileges, exploitation and tyranny, no matter under what form and disguise.

WALTER BROOKS

PROTEST OF LIBERTARIAN YOUTH

The libertarian youth of Spain are taking an active part in the events there. More than that, they are seeing clearly through the betrayals and hypocrisies of the counter-revolutionist. And seeing through these things, they have preferred to speak the bitter truth rather than remain silent. With the support of the Regional Committee of Libertarian Youths and the local Federation of Libertarian Youths of Barcelona, a clear and stern manifesto has been published. The following paragraphs we reprint from "Spain and The World." We offer this protest to our readers, and particularly to our young readers, so that they may read for themselves the interpretation given to the Spanish events by the libertarian youth there who say "before giving up the struggle we will die in the trenches."

"The time has arrived when we must speak with clarity and firmness.

"Faced by the openly counter-revolutionary attitude from several anti-fascist quarters in their intention to bring back the Democratic-Bourgeois-Republic, which in no small measure is to blame for the prolongation of the brutal struggle against Fascism, placing us every day more and more in the dilemma of either abandoning the Revolution or running the risk of losing the war, the Libertarian Youths' organizations have decided to speak openly to the popular masses—the masses of July 19th—in order that they may judge for themselves.

"For our part, we must point out that we can no longer remain in silence nor tolerate all the counter-revolutionary activities which are taking place; so much Governmental injustice and so much political unfaithfulness—all in the name of the war and anti-fascist unity.

"The Revolutionary Working Class Alliance, sought long before the fascist revolt and so eagerly desired by the workers in general, has not been accomplished because governmental socialism is more interested in an alliance with the republican bourgeoisie.

"Working surreptitiously, some anti-fascist sectors are preparing an armistice with our unreconcilable enemies, the result of which would be to return to us under the cloak of 'honourable' Generals of the people, the army traitors, murderers of the working class, who have delivered to Hitler and Mussolini parts of our country.

"While unity is incessantly invoked, blackmail, political intrigues and party tricks are the order of the day, and to the sound of this 'unity' war to the death is declared on other organizations whose members are fighting in the trenches alongside us against the fascists. We want unity, but that loyal and sincere unity that will take us on the road to victory in the war and for the Revolution.

"Several highly placed individuals in the forces entrusted with the responsibility for public order, provoke acts that break the peace at home, and when our

comrades fall into the trap thus laid for them by reacting to this provocation, it is taken as a pretext for disarming and locking them up; or some other political reprisal is taken not less abominable.

"Today, with the Spanish Revolution, as yesterday in the case of Abyssinia, the labour politicians, following up the treason of the Noskes, Macdonalds, etc., carry on their office of betraying the proletariat, and chaining him to the chariot of the capitalist Governments, making it impossible for him to use direct action in favour of his Spanish brothers who fight for the Social Revolution.

"In the Basque country, members of our Committees are put into prison, and other anarchist elements persecuted just because they show opposition to Holy Week celebrations at the same time as our brothers perish in the trenches, fighting against 'Black' and inquisitorial Spain.

In Madrid the radio and printing offices of P.O.U.M. are raided. Comrade Maroto, chief of the battalion bearing his name, is imprisoned because he upholds revolutionary principles, while Asensio, the traitor General who surrendered Malaga to the fascists, enjoys full liberty.

"The sons of the people are sent to the front, and the regular forces are kept behind the lines for counter-revolutionary purposes.

"We consider it unnecessary to persist in these blunt statements. A veritable mountain of facts demonstrates that the counter-revolution is speedily on the march. By misstatements and untruths—forerunners of a furious repression—it is intended to suffocate the libertarian desires of our people; the international proletariat is betrayed and a crime is committed against sentiment and progressive humanity.

"The Libertarian Youths' organizations do not want to make themselves accomplices by silencing all these facts that raise the virus of distrustfulness in the people, and in consequence we think it our duty to reveal to the people the actual position, which frequently brings to the lips the question: Treason? We therefore give the signal: Beware! and hereby notify our determination not to be responsible for the crime and betrayal contemplated against the working classes.

"This cannot be tolerated a moment longer, and we are prepared, if need be, to return to clandestine activities in the bitter struggle against all deceivers, the tyrants of the people and the contemptible meddlers in politics. So today we repeat: Before giving up the struggle against fascism we will die in the trenches. Before renouncing the Revolution, we shall know how to face death on the barricades, as anarchists do, just like Ascaso, Durruti and many others.

"Workers and revolutionaries, forward against the counter-revolution, always maintaining the real and true unity of sincerely anti-fascist people."

ARE WOMEN ADVANCED?

This very short article does not pretend to be a comprehensive treatment of the subject. It was suggested by an unqualified statement made by Emma Goldman, in an interview given to the editor of *Spain and Revolution*, in which she stated that the women of Spain are not advanced. No definition of the term advanced was given, nor was the tremendous handicap under which the women of Spain have suffered for generations explained.

What is the meaning of the word Advanced? Does it not mean to be ahead, to be in the forefront? It cannot mean just to be abreast, to be level. The women of Britain were behind the men: they have now advanced. But in advancing they did not get in the forefront; they are not ahead. They are merely level with the opposite sex. And who will say that the men of Britain are "Advanced?"

Before the fascist uprising of July 19th, 1936, the women of Spain were not organized in any way, neither were they employed in industry. A few were beginning to find places in commercial life, mainly in the shops, but the bulk were either in domestic service of some kind or at home helping in the household duties. In Spain woman's place was considered to be in the home, and the position of women in Spain was somewhat similar to that of the women of Britain during the eighteenth century, with the added disadvantage of their minds being dominated by the catholic church. The education of the working class was very meagre, consisting mainly of reading, writing and arithmetic, and most of the teaching of the women was undertaken by the nuns or in schools controlled by the religious bodies.

One of the first things noticed about the women in the large towns of Spain is the tremendous number, particularly among the younger women, who "make-up" their faces. Spanish women are generally good looking and do not require the addition of art, especially when applied with a very lavish hand. But this is only a phase which will pass. In their first feelings of freedom they have had the childish idea that to express themselves they must look as beautiful as possible, and their conception of beauty is evidently to resemble a film star on the screen. But it is only a matter of a year or two since women in Britain were governed by the same idea

to such an extent as to be the subject of newspaper articles and church sermons.

The habit of considering the women of Britain advanced was developed by the fact that during the world war of 1914-18 the influx of women into the professions, trades and industry was greatly accelerated. There are women doctors, ministers, lawyers and women members of all the parasitical professions. Women are to be found in the police and detective forces. Everywhere, in well-paid and in badly-paid trades, women compete with their male colleagues for a footing. But is their inclusion in those professions and trades any sign of their advancement? Would anyone suggest that a woman lawyer, minister or detective was "Advanced?"

Women now sit in parliament and on municipal parish and borough councils. Is it a sign of advancement to talk and talk in parliament and help to make laws to keep the bulk of mankind enslaved? To assist in the administration of municipal and parish councils in order to ease things a little here and there where the pressure is too severe, in an endeavour to keep the system going? Is it a sign of advancement for women to sit on benches and judge their less fortunate fellow sinners and callously mete out punishment from the security of their privileged positions?

When the suffragists were fighting for the vote, much was said about the tremendous benefits which would accrue to mankind in general and to women and children in particular, once women won the right to sit in parliament and legislate alongside of men. Parliament was going to be revolutionized straight away, and the very necessary improvements in the conditions, improvements that only women could possibly think of or imagine, would be put into force immediately, by the unselfish women who would only go to parliament in the interest of their fellow creatures. And even the most optimistic person will find it difficult to point to any improvement brought about either by the inclusion of women in the franchise or by their winning seats in parliament. The only noticeable difference is that women now share those soft jobs with men and climb on the backs of the workers to exploit them at first as well as second hand.

When the fascist uprising took place, the women of Spain fought side by side with the men and drove the

fascists out of Catalonia and many other parts of Spain. And they are still fighting shoulder to shoulder with the men in their struggle for freedom, if not exactly in the front line trenches in the rear guard, where they are just as necessary. They are organized mainly in the C.N.T., but are also in many other organizations; they are as keen as the men in the struggle and as determined that fascism shall be wiped out of the country for all time.

And the men of Spain are advancing, forging ahead of the men of every other country in the world, as Spain is the only country where they have realized that they were in chains, the only country where they have made up their minds to fight for and win their freedom. And as men and women must advance together and one cannot lag behind the other and a country be free in any sense whatever, the women of Spain will before long be the most advanced women in the world because they will be the only women who have fought for and gained their freedom along with their men.

JANE H. PATRICK.

Counter-Revolution at Work

(Continued from page 2)

the orders of identically the same source, the self-styled "true" followers of Karl Marx, the Bolshevik government of Russia!

Anarchists prove to be so sincere and trustworthy. Our Anarchist comrades in Spain have so quickly forgotten what happened to the Anarchist peasantry of Ukraine as well as to the entire Anarchist movement in Russia!

Undoubtedly, the anarchists of Spain had very well-founded reasons for being willing to trust the Bolsheviks and Socialists. We all know only too well what these reasons were. They did not wish to jeopardize the struggle that the fascist bandits suddenly forced upon the people of Spain. This is true enough. But, having the greater influence upon the tolling masses of the land and factories, they should and could have utilized the greatest opportunity that ever offered itself in the history of Spain—the very day of the inception of the Fascist counter-revolution—to arouse the attacked people in the need of realizing the complete demolition of the very organ and all its supporting props that always prove to be the most formidable enemy of Liberty—the institution of Government!

Had the anarchists of Spain done this, they would likewise have inspired and brought into immediate life a Revolutionary Defense Body, composed of every true enemy of oppression, exploitation and rulership. Such a body could have coped, far more ably than any governmental body ever could, with the defense of the struggle on the battlefield as well as in the rebuilding of the new life. That in having pursued such a course the anarchists would have had the whole-hearted support of the revolutionary people of Spain and of the whole world is fully attested to by the manner in which the people of Spain and the volunteer revolutionists are heroically fighting the beastly fascists.

Regrettably, such a course was not pursued. Instead, the anarchists of Spain made the terrible mistake of compromising with their principles by joining, as a movement, in becoming part of the Government! By this act they not only made possible the perpetuation of the State, and all it implies to an anarchist, but have likewise placed a rope that can at any time be thrown around their own necks and, as the Associated Press dispatch quoted above proves, is already being done! (I omit here any discussion of the terrible effect that this compromising action has already had in other countries where trade union officials began to utilize this act as a shield not only for their former compromises as anarchists in the unions, but also for passing on to political alliances—in the United States—to the support of re-electing Tammany Hall's president, Mr. Roosevelt....)

The road of compromise is forever paved with thorns that lead to disillusion and defeat of those very principles for whose sake any compromise is ever being made.

What is now at stake in the struggle for liberty in Spain is not solely the fate of the anarchists and their movement as such, but likewise—the very revolutionary struggle for liberty itself!

The present action of the Government of Spain can but result in one and only one course—the victory of Fascism! The anarchists within the Government must realize this immediately, and not for a single moment should they remain within its fold!

It is perhaps not yet too late to save the struggle for liberty in Spain!

The oppressed people of Spain and all those revolutionists who rallied to the heroic struggle have certainly not done so for the purpose of perpetrating the institution of Government, but for the sake of achieving and safeguarding Liberty and Justice!

The time has now come for discarding the serpent enemy of Liberty and Justice—the State! A Revolutionary Defense Body embracing every sincere fighter for Liberty and Justice ought to and can immediately come into life. It is only such a body that can still save the heroic sacrifices that have already been made, that are being made and that no doubt will be made in order to destroy forever from the soil of Spain every enemy of Freedom, Justice and Equality. Thus only can I conceive of the possibility of coping with the new enemies that are now threatening the course and the very life of the heroic struggle in Spain.

MARCUS GRAHAM
(Bermuda)

... ART and LITERATURE ...

AN IMMORAL WRITER

As patriotism is the last resort of the scoundrel, so the final argument of the impotent critic against a disliked author is an appeal to morality.

He is conclusively annihilated by such critics with the charge of demoralizing the youth and is damned vicious. No eminent artist ever escaped this charge; it would almost seem as if it were the ultimate crown of genius.

M. Artzibashev is not an ordinary sinner. He is not merely a "demoralizer of youth," nay, even worse: he is the enemy of governmentally ordered life; in fact, an Anarchist. This the partisans of State find impossible to forgive him.

Yet, next to Andreiev and Gorki, Artzibashev is the most prominent personality in modern Russian literature. Since the appearance of his novel "Sanin," he must be classed with those whose names are inseparably connected with the annals of their time. In the history of Russian literature, "Sanin" will find its deserved place among the masterpieces of Gogol Gontcharov, Dostoyevski, Turgeniev, and Tolstoy. Its socio-historical significance cannot be doubted. Intellectual Europe is agreed upon it.

* * *

Artzibashev was born in 1878 in a small city of Southern Russia. By descent he is a Tartar, yet with a considerable mixture of other blood; his great-grandfather on the maternal side was no less a man than Kosciusko, the famous Polish patriot. His father was a small landowner, living in straightened circumstances. His mother died when he was but three years old, bequeathing to him tuberculosis as his sole inheritance. After a course in a provincial gymnasium, Artzibashev, at the age of sixteen, entered an art school. Like Goethe, he was enthused with art, believing to possess the talent of a painter. He fared badly: he lived in squalid quarters, often suffering hunger; but worse than all, he even lacked money for colors. To earn a living he drew caricatures and wrote sketches for obscure papers. Some of his writings, especially "Pasha Tumanov"—dealing with the then suicide epidemic among the college youth—attracted the attention of Mirolubov, the publisher of a magazine of liberal tendencies. Among the collaborators on the latter were Maxim Gorki, Leonid Andreiev, A. Kuprin and other modern writers. Mirolubov, recognizing the talent of young Artzibashev, offered him to join the editorial staff and thus paved the way for his future literary career.

It was during this period that Artzibashev wrote his famous work, "Sanin." The manuscript was declined by several publishers, who feared to offend against the censorship. The revolution of 1905 came. The emotional life of the people underwent a tremendous change. All classes manifested a ravenous hunger for literature. The editors of "Sovremenni Mir," which had previously declined "Sanin," now remembered the work and hastened to publish it.

This circumstance is not generally known. The public was led to believe by the Russian critics that "Sanin" was the product of reaction, and that Artzibashev followed the modernist tendencies of the decadent school, manifesting themselves in Russian literature with the downfall of the Revolution. In reality, however, the "Sanin" manuscript had already been perused by prominent writers in 1903, two years before the great upheaval.

Following "Sanin," Artzibashev wrote a collection of splendid sketches, among them "Millions" and "The Death of Ivan Lande." The latter assured his fame in Russian letters. Various works, written during this period by Artzibashev for propaganda purposes, came under the ban of the censor, and only the timely success of the Revolution saved the author from prison.

"Sanin" has caused an almost unprecedented division in the ranks of intellectual Russia. Its effect can be compared only with that produced by such works as "Yevgeni Onegin," "Fathers and Sons," "What's To Be Done," and "Kreutzer Sonata." Even if its purely artistic qualities had not stamped "Sanin" as one of the most important literary events, socio-historic reasons would have impressed upon the work lasting significance. Its social effects alone characterize "Sanin" above the class of merely literary effort.

Similarly to Turgeniev's "Fathers and Sons," "Sanin" was understood neither by the reactionists nor revolutionists. At the same time that the government confiscated the romance, the revolutionists stigmatized Artzibashev as the ally of the reaction. But most of all "Sanin" was misinterpreted by "the youngest youth." A wild sexual intoxication followed upon the publication of the book. The college youth formed themselves into associations for the unhindered practice of eroticism. They called themselves Saninists, claiming to live the views of Artzibashev's hero.

These excesses are easily explained psychologically. The Revolution was suppressed; the intellectuals withdrew; the revolutionary parties became disintegrated. General weariness took the place of activity. But the stimulated energies would not be so easily stemmed: the awakened emotions demanded satisfaction. Such feelings dissolve themselves most readily in sexual passion. Because of its erotic suggestiveness, "Sanin" became the

programme of the young generation. A misinterpretation, from which almost all extraordinary works have in their day suffered.

In his "Reminiscences" Goethe says in regard to "Werther's Leiden":

"The influence of this book was so great and unusual because it appeared at exactly the right moment. As it requires but a small fuse to explode a tremendous mine, so the explosion which thereupon followed among the public was so strong because the young generation had already undermined itself, and the shock so terrific, because everyone, being filled with exaggerated demands, unsatisfied passions, and imaginary sufferings, was about to explode. The public cannot be expected to receive a spiritual work in a spiritual manner. In reality only the contents, the material, were considered; to it was added the old prejudice concerning the printed word: namely, that its purpose must be didactic. But true art has none: it neither praises nor condemns; it merely presents the emotions and actions in their sequence, and thus it enlightens and teaches."

These fine words apply precisely to "Sanin." Artzibashev wrote neither a defense nor a slander of the Russian youth. He pictured in Sanin a new type of Russian life, a type whose spirit lives in the strongest and most daring representatives of new Russia. Sanin is an individuality which has broken with all the views dominant in modern life, an individuality which has withdrawn from all political parties, however revolutionary—a man who stands alone.

The book is an apotheosis of individualism. Were a classification attempted, Sanin would have to be characterized as a Stirnerian, an Individualist Anarchist. He represents the reaction against the old type of revolutionist, who did not consider his own individuality, and who devoted his whole life to the "cause", to the people. But Artzibashev did not content himself with portraying merely the ordinary, self-satisfied Stirnerian. In "The Workman Shevryiov," from the "Stories of the Revolution," he pictures the complement of Sanin in the active revolutionary Individualist.

Sanin and Shevryiov give a complete view of Artzibashev's social and political beliefs. Either total aloofness from the problems of the day, and the free development of one's individuality—that is Sanin; or Shevryiov's intense participation in the struggle with every fiber of his being, perishing in active resistance.

The post-revolutionary period, beginning with the October manifesto of 1905, followed within two years by the downfall of the great social expectations, serves as the background of the "Stories of the Revolution."

"THEY SHALL NOT PASS!"

*They shall not pass! E'en should they win the day,
Their victory turns to dust and ashes still;
What tho' the tyrants should our bodies slay,
The spirit free lives on and 'scapes their will.
It shall not be! Let them do what they may,
They shall not pass!*

*They shall not pass! E'en should they win the day,
When all have given their lives for liberty,
Tyrants will know the price they have to pay
T'enslave a people fighting to be free.
It shall not be! Let them do what they may,
They shall not pass!*

*They shall not pass! E'en should they win the day,
When men as yet unborn shall read the story,
They'll judge 'twixt those who stood in Freedom's way,
And us who died for her; whose is the glory.
It shall not be! Let them do what they may,
They shall not pass!*

*What tho' with hireling hordes they burn and slay,
And stone built fortresses before them fall,
There's something stronger yet shall bar the way,
Our firm resolve that still defies them all.
Therefore we cry, "Let them do what they may,
They shall not pass!"*

—From the Catalan of Apelles Mastres.

THOUGHTS ALONG THE WAY

*Little we know of the cross-roads of mankind;
Each sign-post yet a mystery as one delves
Along horizons which are not defined;
And much have we to learn about ourselves.*

*Yet, even if I must walk these paths alone,
I'd be content more were I free to give
All that I find and have, and all I own
Of Light, of Truth by which alone we live.*

L. W. J. CONKLIN

The original unity of the Revolution is broken, its tremendous energy paralyzed. In place of the great Socialist parties, side-tracked by parliamentarism, we find the actions of separate organizations of Anarchists and Maximalists, partly loosely connected with each other, but mostly operating independently. In their midst are the solitary figures, those who believe in nothing except themselves and who, protesting by deed, perish.

In this milieu live the types described in the "Stories of the Revolution." They contain powerful characterizations of great psychologic depth. These stories are a part of Artzibashev's *Weltanschauung*. They are, as he himself states, the sermon of his dearest ideas, his political faith: Anarchism.

"My development—Artzibashev writes in a short autobiography—has been strongly influenced by Tolstoy, although I have never shared his opinion regarding "resist not evil." He overwhelmed me only as an artist, and it has been difficult for me to free my style from his influence. Almost a similar role Dostoyevsky and partly Tchekhov played in my life. Victor Hugo and Goethe also stood before me. These five names are those of my teachers and literary masters. Much has been written about Nietzsche's influence on me. The assertion always seemed to me peculiar, for the simple reason that I am not familiar with Nietzsche. I am better acquainted with Max Stirner, whose views I share."

Judging Artzibashev's artistic value it may be well to compare it with the views of Havelock Ellis, Benedetto Croce and Jules de Gaultier.

The French author says: Art is in a certain sense the only morality which life admits.

HIPPOLYTE HAVEL

BOOK REVIEW

A Short History of the Future

BY JOHN LANGDON-DAVIES
(Dodd, Mead Co., N. Y. 1936)

"What is democracy? It is the theory that a man should be encouraged to be a 'political being,' to think about political problems freely and without humility. He must not say 'I do not understand anything about gold standard and that being the chief political issue at this time, I shall not vote at the coming election.' That would be avoiding his responsibilities; he must vote whether he understands the issues or not; he must be encouraged to think that he does understand by all the wiles of party political propaganda. Then the majority of such ignorant or deceived voters is bound to be right, and the policy they dictate will be the best."

The above quotation from this thought-provoking book written in Barcelona last year points out a truth well known by anarchists for some time. Mr. Langdon-Davies gives a clear picture of the economic reasons which lie at the basis of the decline of capitalism. He does not state just what his personal belief is but ventures to predict what he thinks will come about in the near future.

With his criticism of capitalist society and his proof that modern warfare is inevitable and so terrible that the civilian population can have no defense worthwhile against it, all radicals would likely agree. He looks for a world war in 1940 between Germany and Japan on one side and Russia on the other, with alliances formed for convenience as the war continues. He sees democracy as a failure, and regimentation by the state with all ideal conditions except freedom, by the year 2000.

His predictions concerning the family and sex life are novel, but do not necessarily contain more proof than the assertion of those who might predict an approach to the decentralization of industry and a growth of the homestead or small community as a unit rather than the super-state.

The weak point in his predictions consists in his idea that war will at the same time destroy civilization and quickly build it up again into a communistic state where only three hours work per day and all activities controlled by the state would be the rule.

Scott Nearing, who visited Spain again last fall, states that Spain is already practicing the "withering away of the state" of which Marx, Lenin and Stalin speak of happening in the mystical future after communism has "educated" the people. Nearing thinks that a federation of autonomous communes will form a new kind of radical society. This would seem to be as valid a prediction as that of Langdon-Davies.

Anarchists know that all countries do not evolve the same changes which lead either to or from the anarchist ideal, but we do know that we can afford to wait; that as each form of dictatorship falls of its own weight and nothing is then left but the voluntary co-operation of the individual in whatever form of co-operative society is the most feasible for the locality, the natural strength of man unhindered by authority will assert itself and the process of working toward our ideal of freedom will continue.

AMMON A. HENNACY.

DEPORTATION and THE LIBERALS

Eighteen years ago, Alexander Berkman, while waiting in the shadow of the equivocal Statue of Liberty, for his turn to be deported, penciled down the last pages of a pamphlet on deportation. His keen foresight made him formulate the following anxious set of questions:

"Shall the United States, once the land of opportunity, the refuge of all the oppressed, be Prussianized, Czarified? Shall the melting pot of the world be turned into a fiery caldron brewing strife, and slaughter, spitting tyranny and assassination? Shall we here, on this soil baptized with the sacred blood of the great heroes of the Revolutionary War, engage in the sanguinary struggle of brother against brother? Shall this land re-echo the horrible tramp, tramp of a thousand feet, on their way to an American Siberia? Tortured bodies, manacled hands, clanking chains, in weary, endless procession—shall that be the heritage of our youth? Shall the songs of mothers be turned into a dirge, and little babies be suckled with the teat of hate?"

Although Berkman's prediction of an American Siberia, while still dreadfully looming on the somber horizon of social warfare, has not actually materialized, yet, to our everlasting shame and reproach, the tragic tramp, tramp of weary feet has continued to be heard in the damnable deportation stations of these United States.

Hundreds of thousands of workers have been deliberately driven away after insufferable years of exploitation, thousands of American families destroyed and hundreds of political refugees spurned and chased away like contaminating vermin. Yet, on the formal days of commemorating our well-thinking citizenry, our politicians and our defenders of democracy indulge and pride themselves in high-sounding orations and most inappropriately resort to quotations from the Lincolns, the Jeffersons, the Madisons et al. But no sooner the commemoration is over than the entire coterie relegates the very principles and ideals which they have just exalted to the first garbage can they come across and go back to their seasoned practice of repression and persecution. In the same way they have cried "To hell with the Constitution!" so do they turn about to their natural hatred and snort: "To hell with American traditions!"

This country was founded by religious and political exiles, but who gives a damn? It is true that on a certain Thanksgiving Day, way back in 1795, George Washington was orating to "humbly and fervently beseech the kind Author of these blessings... to render this country more and more a safe and propitious asylum for the unfortunates of other countries", but the gentleman must have been doped by a senile sentimentality. Thomas Jefferson, no doubt, in campaigning for the repeal of the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798, let forth the memorable reproaching question "Shall we refuse the unhappy fugitive from distress that hospitality which the savages of wilderness extended to our forefathers arriving in this country? Shall oppressed humanity find no asylum on this globe?", but as you know the fiery rascal was a "damned Red" himself. So let us heed neither justice nor tradition and continue to deport the miserable wretches we have exploited for many decades, and let us banish the malcontents, the bastards who dare to question our divine and unquestionable right of life and death over them.

Congress is overflooded with anti-alien and anti-red deportation bills. The great mass of the workers are kept in ignorance of these attacks upon the civil rights of the foreign born which affect theirs as well, and the liberal and labor movements, when not resting in the enjoyment of a cheaply acquired respectability, supinely play the part of the dupes in the national caldron of politics where these reactionary measures are concocted. In many instances, in fact, they support legislation which, while apparently beneficial to the nth degree, in reality brings about another onslaught on the already meager rights of the workers and endangers the life and security of millions of non-citizens. The Kerr-Coolidge Bill, which died an inglorious death in the last Congress, was a good example of the naivety of our liberals and labor leaders. This Bill, although giving to some 3000 individuals involved in hardship cases a problematic opportunity to legalize their status in the country, would have curtailed the freedom of non-citizens to a larger extent. This year, the very same people are getting themselves entangled in the meshes of another similar measure introduced by Congressman Martin Dies, the gentleman from Texas who has been advocating that seven million foreign-born be deported from the United States in order to solve the economic crisis of the system.

The Dies Bill (H. R. 6391) is a DEPORTATION BILL and how a "civil rights" organization like the American Civil Liberties Union and some of the labor unions can give it their support, even tho' screening the measure with the inefficient net of doubtful amendments, is a mystery which only the subtle science of politics can solve. Are these people out to avoid embarrassment for the politicians in the Department of Labor or to protect the rights of the "liberals" and the workers whom they are supposed to represent? The Dies Bill would give the Department discretionary power to legalize, in a period of four years, the status of 8000 people who have entered the country illegally, this number to be deduced from the already negligible immigration quota. There are in the United States an estimate of 400,000 deportable non-citizens who have entered in violation of some technical rule. The apparent interest in preventing the deportation of 8000 of them is nothing more than a ruse not only to make the deportation of the others easier but also to promote better means of deportation for the 4,500,000 non-citizens who are legal residents and, for that matter, of some 10,000,000 naturalized citizens in the country.

In fact, the Dies Bill would make deportation provisions more strict by 1) affecting people who came from "insular possessions", 2) making deportation mandatory for a crime involving "moral turpitude" with no limit of time as to when the crime was committed, 3) for mere possession of fire arms "even if the alien was not sentenced to imprisonment". One of these provisions is plainly aimed at workers involved in strike disputes, but it is doubtful if it would impress our liberals to any extent. The Bill deliberately and maliciously excludes political cases from the 8000 it is supposed to help, thus ever more showing its reactionary character. We have no faith in legislation and with the few preceding remarks wish to point out how the workers and liberty-loving individuals are deceived—whether unconsciously or deliberately doesn't matter—by liberals and labor leaders. If the aim of the politicians would be that of affording relief to a number of non-citizens, they could just introduce a Bill to that effect instead of framing one which while giving a tenth of an inch takes away a long mile.

Tragic and pitiful cases of deportation unfold in a continuous sorrowful procession; the principle of right of asylum is shamefully ignored, and political refugees are compelled to leave, under the inexorable threat of deportation to Fascist countries, this supposed haven of refuge. The labor and liberal movements in the United States are strong enough to demand and obtain that the infamous deportation laws be repealed if they would want to stage the fight and appeal to the people. However, they prefer to resort to politics and to oblige the new "liberal" politicians, thus becoming traitors to their own principles. Scores of political refugees have been chased out of the country; hundreds of them are being hunted by immigration inspectors; legal resident non-citizens have been and are being ordered deported on charges purely political, and people who call themselves friends of labor and defenders of civil rights indulge in the detrimental practice of playing the game of the reactionary red-baiters.

The ultimate say on the issue rests with the workers and with true believers in freedom and justice. Whether native, naturalized or non-citizens they are the ones who will have to bear the brunt of reaction which will increase in the same measure that human and civil rights are relinquished without a manly resistance. In justice to themselves the workers of the United States should wipe out these barbarous laws without respite and compromise.

JAMES BOLER

THE PRICE OF WAR

Lives destroyed; the dead lying in windows; mass graves; men crippled; men maimed and blinded; children orphaned and starved; wealth wasted; property demolished; science and art prostituted; sad-eyed hopeless women; peace-lovers jailed; old heads bowed in final grief; scalding tears falling on pitiful mementos; desolated fields and homes and hearts; forests of wooden crosses—THE IMMEDIATE COST OF WAR!

Unemployment; savings eaten up; stunted, ill-clad children; spreading disease; faltering footsteps; pleading voices; bread lines; dehumanization; accelerated vice and crime; hunger and madness and suicide—THE AFTERMATH OF WAR!

Boundaries altered; violent changes; industry dislocated; markets destroyed; international debts and indemnities; tariff walls; retaliations; debts and reparations repudiated; currency and trade wars; time-honored economic inter-relationships disrupted; new industrial competitors; increasing armaments; unbalanced budgets; increasing suspicion, hatred and hostility between nations; clashing stock markets, closed banks; ruined silk markets; starvation and insurrection in Yokohama; imperialistic aggression in China; cities bombed; women and children murdered; terror; rampant nationalism; class war and revolution; fascist counter-revolution and dictatorship; "peace pacts" violated; international chaos—THE CASUAL FRUITS OF WAR!

Closed factories; idle machinery; permanently idle workers; worthless stocks and bonds; middle classes proletarianized; discontented peasant farmers; landless men and manless land; wage workers reduced to beggary, crime and general destitution; closed schools and crowded prisons; paintless, crumbling buildings; deteriorated roads; wandering men, women and children; ships rotting at the docks; idle and drunken sailors; increasing prostitution; warehouses overflowing with food, clothing and shoes; foodless and ragged people tramping the streets in shoes without soles; misery; desolation; desperation; increasing panic; havoc spreading to the ends of the earth; unborn generations enslaved with debts and robbed of their heritage of health; inferior people; feudalism; stolid creatures of the hoe; permanent depression and cultural darkness—THE ULTIMATE PRICE OF WAR!

"... when the Empire of America shall fall, the subject of contemplative sorrow will be infinitely greater than crumbling brass or marble can inspire... here, ah, painful thought! the noblest work of human wisdom, the grandest scene of human glory, the fair cause of freedom, rose and fell!"—Thomas Paine.

RALPH J. WESTLAKE

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INTER NOS

MAN'S opinions regarding the participation of Spanish libertarians in the government of Spain have met with sharp criticism and ridicule. Certain comrades consider that anything and everything done by the Spanish Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndacalists, in the name of Anarchism, is possessed with a character of infallibility or sanctity. To these comrades the expression of adverse opinions becomes a crime. This attitude is both unreasonable and dangerous. It is unreasonable because opinions should be judged and, eventually, condemned on their own merits rather than through prejudice. It is dangerous because it exposes a cause absolutely alien to the aims of anarchism.

As was to be expected, MAN is not the only voice which has undergone this experience. Comrade Voline—a Russian comrade who participated in the Russian Revolution and who is now living in France—has been confronted with similar criticisms by persons who admit a single line in anarchist policy, the line chosen by an apparent majority of Spanish comrades. To these criticisms Voline replies with a well-pointed article which we translate from "Terre Libre" of May, 1937.

"There is only one instance—a highly hypothetical one—in which I should consider myself duty bound to abstain momentarily from any judgment or criticism of the attitude taken by the C. N. T. and F. A. I.—that is, if all our Spanish comrades, without a single exception, had previously agreed upon the absolute necessity of such 'concessions' as they have made and admitted: united front with political and reformist organizations, participation in government, united command, agreement with the Stalinist government, etc. etc. In this instance I should be forced to say to myself: 'Since everybody down there agrees, there must really be something very exceptional, something extraordinary, unforeseen and impossible to foresee, something which surpasses our three dimensions, our poor human judgment, our thought and our truth. Therefore, let us be careful in judging or criticizing unless we are in the place and position of verifying the super-natural of the situation.'"

"But if there exists a lone Spanish Comrade who deems it his normal right (and duty) to judge and criticize and, having judged, declares himself opposed to the 'line' of 'governmental' anarchists, then it would become impossible to admit, even hypothetically, that there is anything supernatural or abnormal. Then one would be on the perfectly human everyday 'plane', with its complications, contradictions, disagreements, conflicts, researches, its mistakes and corrections of everyday life.

"The existence of a single opponent in Spain would prove that all is normal there, that different opinions exist there, as they do everywhere else, that truth remains to be discussed and, therefore, that we too have the right—and the duty—to judge and criticize and, if such is our opinion, to take sides with the opposition.

"Now, our reader knows as well as I do that nothing super-natural exists, even in Spain; that everything is normal there; that the laws of human nature have neither been suppressed nor suspended. The reader must also know that the attitude known as official is that of only a part of the C.N.T. and of the F.A.I., that in Spain, even within the ranks of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I., there exists a strong opposition. This opposition which, for the present—and quite understandably—abstains from fighting against the other part, nevertheless declares itself firmly opposed to the official 'line' of the latter and does not in any way renounce the natural human right to judge and criticize. The reader must also know that this opposition is already strongly fought by the 'officials'. It is prevented from acting; it is censored; it is menaced and eliminated. . . . Nevertheless, it manages to exist and, as the 'concessions' go further, it is even growing.

"Thus, our right—and our duty—to judge and criticize is clearly established by the existence of an opposition inside Spain. Moreover, I insist that it is more than a plain right. I insist purposely on the notion of duty. As a matter of fact, the existence of an opposition in Spain lends us the right to suppose that our criticisms are well grounded. Therefore, not only have we the duty of propounding our criticisms from a 'theoretical' point of view but also the duty of taking sides, 'in practice', with that opposition whenever we agree with it. At any rate, the fact that a real and active opposition exists within Spain enables us to discard the reproach that we are but dry 'doctrinaires' and too abstract theorists."

TO OUR READERS

Because of lack of space we have been unable to give a financial statement in the last two issues of MAN. We will give a detailed account in the next issue. However, we are in deficit, and we urge our readers to send their contributions.

Please, note that the editorial address of this journal is now P. O. Box 95, Sta. D, New York, N. Y.

MAN did not appear in April and May.

EDITOR